

## Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 SS-15 PRS-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /019 R

DRAFTED BY PA/M:REKRUEGER:RK

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O 081730Z DEC 76 ZFF4

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT ROSCOE DRUMMOND OP-ED COLUMN CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 8 HEADED "ON BEING FAIR TO KISSINGER."

2. AT THIS POINT THE CONFIRMED BELITTLERS ARE BUSY DOING WHAT THEY CAN TO MAKE SURE THAT HENRY KISSINGER LEAVES OFFICE WITH A LOW ESTIMATE OF HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

3. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WHETHER ONE ADMIRES OR DISDAINS DR. KISSINGER, IT IS INACCURATE AND UNFAIR TO DENIGRATE HIS RECORD AND THAT HISTORY WILL CONFIRM THAT HE HAS RENDERED WORTHY AND WORTHWHILE SERVICES TO THE NATION.

4. THE DENIGRATORS ARE MOSTLY SECOND-GUESSERS. THEY SUGGEST THAT IF KISSINGER HAD PUSHED THE SOVIETS HARDER HE COULD HAVE DONE BETTER AT THE SALT TALKS. THEY SUGGEST THAT IF HE HAD ABANDONED HIS SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, HE COULD HAVE WRAPPED UP A NICE, OVERALL PEACE SETTLEMENT BY PRESSURING ISRAEL. THEY SUGGEST THAT HE  
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SHOULD EITHER HAVE STAYED AWAY FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA ENTIRELY OR SHOULD HAVE INTERVENED EARLIER, THAT HIS INITIA-

TIVE WAS ILL-TIMED AND DESTINED TO FAIL.

5. TO CONCENTRATE ON WHAT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED IS AN INTERESTING INTELLECTUAL EXERCISE, BUT I PREFER TO LOOK AT WHAT DID HAPPEN AS THE BETTER WAY TO APPRAISE KISSINGER'S COMMAND OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY DURING EIGHT EVENTFUL YEARS.

6. I AM NOT ABOUT TO CONTEND THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS THE VERY MODEL OF A GREAT AMERICAN STATESMAN. SOME GOOD ASSOCIATES COULDN'T ABIDE HIM, COULDN'T WORK WITH HIM. HE WAS ABRASIVE AS OFTEN AS HE WAS GRACIOUS AND HE RARELY SEEMED TO DEVOTE HIMSELF TO CONTAINING HIS EGO. BUT THERE SEEM TO ME FAR MORE CREDITS THAN DEBITS IN HIS RECORD.

7. THERE ARE, AS I SEE IT, TWO MAJOR DEBITS:

8. KISSINGER WAS DECEPTIVE IN HIS NEGOTIATION AND ACCEPTANCE OF A "PEACE" AGREEMENT WITH NORTH VIETNAM THE PURPOSE OF WHICH WAS TO ENABLE PRESIDENT NIXON TO WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS AS THOUGH THE WAR WAS OVER. IT WAS A NONSETTLEMENT WHICH BOTH KNEW THE ENEMY WOULD VIOLATE AT WILL.

9. AGAIN, HELSINKI. HISTORIC AMERICAN POLICY, ENUNCIATED BY SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY STIMSON IN 1934 AFTER JAPAN HAD INVADDED MANCHURIA, WAS NOT TO RECOGNIZE TERRITORY ACQUIRED BY FORCE. AT HELSINKI KISSINGER, WITH FORD ACQUIESCING, PUT THE MORAL APPROVAL OF THE UNITED STATES ON TERRITORIAL BORDERS IMPOSED BY MOSCOW AFTER WORLD WAR II. THIS ACTION MADE IT LOGICAL FOR ONE OF THE SECRETARY'S AIDES TO DECLARE THAT THE ONCE INDEPENDENT NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE COULD WELL BECOME A PART OF THE SOVIET UNION.

10. BUT TO ME KISSINGER'S POSITIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS GREATLY OUTWEIGH THE OTHERS. I CITE THESE AS OUTSTANDING:

1. WITH MR. NIXON'S APPROVAL, KISSINGER LED THE WAY TO BRING ABOUT A GREATLY IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. HIS IDEAS AND HIS WORK WERE UNCLASSIFIED  
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INDISPENSABLE TO THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE. THIS TRANSFORMED THE BIPOLAR, ONE-ON-ONE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND RUSSIA AND BROUGHT INTO BEING A MULTIPOLAR WORLD IN WHICH MOSCOW HAD TO CONTEND WITH PEKING AS AN INDEPENDENT FORCE. THIS STRENGTHENED THE SECURITY OF MAINLAND CHINA AND SIMULTANEOUSLY STRENGTHENED NATO BY GIVING THE SOVIET UNION CONCERN ON BOTH ITS WESTERN AND EASTERN BORDERS.

2. KISSINGER WAS A PRIME MOVER IN GETTING THE U.S.-SOV-

IET NUCLEAR ARMS TALKS UNDER WAY AND MOVING THEM FORWARD--

NOT MUCH, BUT A VALUABLE DISTANCE.

3. HE SUCCEEDED IN ERASING MUCH OF THE ARAB DISTRUST OF THE UNITED STATES SO THAT LATER THE U.S. COULD DEAL WITH BOTH SIDES IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

4. KISSINGER'S SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY BOUGHT TIME IN THE MIDDLE EAST FOR DIPLOMACY TO HAVE A CHANCE, AND TODAY BOTH PRESIDENT SADAT AND PRIME MINISTER RABIN ARE CALLING FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

5. WAS KISSINGER'S INTERVENTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ILL-TIMED AND USELESS? IT BROUGHT THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE BLACK LEADERS INTO CONFERENCE, AND LAST WEEK ONE OF THE MAJOR ROADBLOCKS TO NEGOTIATING PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA DISAPPEARED.

11. I BELIEVE THAT DR. KISSINGER IS HANDING OVER TO PRESIDENT CARTER A MORE STABLE WORLD THAN HE INHERITED FROM LYNDON JOHNSON IN 1968. (END OF TEXT.) ROBINSON

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TOSEC, PRESS COMMENTS, PERSONNEL CONDUCT, POLICIES, PUBLIC ATTITUDES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 08 DEC 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** n/a  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE298374  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** REKRUEGER:RK  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760453-1168  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19761261/aaaacarp.tel  
**Line Count:** 137  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN PA  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** wolfsd  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 01 JUN 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <01 JUN 2004 by hattaycs>; APPROVED <06 AUG 2004 by wolfsd>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PRESS MATERIAL  
**TAGS:** SOPN, OVIP, APER, PFOR, US, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (DRUMMOND, ROSCOE)  
**To:** SECRETARY  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006